

"WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE, YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS, AND A WORLD TO GAIN." THE I. W. W. IS THE WAY TO UNITE

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

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NOTES FROM THE FIELD

TRAUTMANN'S ACTIVITY IN THE EAST.

Following are extracts from several letters by General Organizer Wm. E. Trautmann, since leaving Chicago, January 16:

"Meetings in Detroit and Cleveland were all that could be expected. They both offer excellent fields, and I shall give them more dates later on. In the Cleveland meeting, as also in Detroit, the usual question about 'repudiation of political action' was asked and answered to the satisfaction of all. The question about 'slum proletarian' was answered by referring to the fact that in the Holland war for separation from Spain the nobles called the rebels 'slum buggars and slum brigades,' and that that name has since gone into history as a name of honor. The Bulletin should contain a brief note about the amendment of literature bought by Spokane and Seattle since the convention. This will offset the charge that the element organizing in the I. W. W. is ignorant and indifferent as to the immediate and final endeavors of the I. W. W."

"Since leaving Buffalo I was so busy making connections and attending meetings (the first Sunday three meetings in succession) that I could not find time to write details. In Buffalo Fellow Worker Curtis and about twenty more were ready to organize a propaganda league when I left. I have perhaps written you as he promised. In North Adams I made connections, and will return later."

"In New York I have addressed several meetings of Socialist Party groups by districts, and invitations are still pouring in. Mass meetings and lectures under the auspices of the New York District Council have also been held with good results."

"Paterson will soon be in control of the I. W. W. again. The A. F. of L. was making heavy inroads in the silk industry, but has been checked by a blunder made in a strike in the largest shop. The 'Union' that all could organize in the A. F. of L. or United Textile Workers, respectively, could not enforce solidarity, as the weavers of the A. F. of L. remained at work, while the others are striking. A strike in the P. Ball's (S. L. P. treasurer) factory against a 10 per cent reduction in wages, the only factory where a wage reduction was declared. 'Papa' Glaz, working as bread silk weaver in that factory, remained loyal to his boss. As you perhaps know, he informed the chief of police two weeks ago that the I. W. W. meetings in Paterson should be broken up, as they were 'bomb makers.' Chief of police called for as I. W. W. committee, and then that that Kats had informed him to that effect."

"In Yonkers the fellow workers will get enough supporters for the 'Bulletin Sustaining League' to guarantee a monthly contribution. A sympathetic place will make a big contribution as soon as he gets money from a contract now tied up. New York 'Sustaining League' will be formed this week."

"I have found everywhere that some of our best workers still suffer from the defects of their purely political party training. For instance, the chairman in Cleveland took more time in opening and closing the meeting than he did in the lecture. In Hoboken someone made objections because I pulled out the Germans and Jews to get them together, when they were slowly leaving because they could not understand Italian. The fellow workers here in New York admit this defect in the method of conducting meetings, and will devote more time to organizing after brief addresses are made, and less to discussions on points that an eventual hair-splitter may not agree with."

"The Italians of Local 120, West Hoboken, are O. K. now. Will change dates, providing it can be done, and stay in this city until vicinity until enough unions are organized so that they can keep an organizer in the field. Otherwise my work here will be largely ineffectual."

TRAUTMANN IN DETROIT.

From "Der Herold," official organ of the Central Labor Union of Detroit, we take the following report of a lecture delivered in this city by General Organizer W. E. Trautmann:

"On Sunday afternoon, January 17, Mr. Trautmann, General Organizer of the I. W. W., gave an instructive lecture in Niedermeyer's Hall. He laid bare the defects of the present union movement, and pointed out the remedy for the same. His view does not coincide with the assumption that we must look to the state for the solution of all problems, as children might to their father."

"Economic development, the speaker contended, has brought forth labor unions. On an economic, not on a political basis, has labor time been shortened and wages raised."

"Since labor leaders have begun to meddle in politics in order to get political jobs, a noticeable reaction has set

in. Soft talk and political trading has become the fashion, because one must not say anything against the interests of his political friends if political preference is desired."

"The harmony of interests of capital and labor, depe, as well as the canonization of contracts, are additional causes of the paralysis of the trades union forces."

"The action of an aristocracy of labor prevailing in most craft unions, causes the skilled mechanic to exclude from his union the helper or other unskilled co-workers. This gives to the capitalist the chance to use unskilled against skilled workers, and vice versa, to the detriment of both and his own profit."

"All these facts were illustrated by the speaker with many examples."

"These conditions can be remedied by building up an organization similar to that of the French syndicates, where all trades or crafts are united in one industrial organization. The skilled worker counts the same as the unskilled. Time contracts do not exist. Every day the organized army of workers is ready to respond with a general strike to any wrong done to any part of their organization."

"On the other hand, under the old methods, while for example, the street car conductors are on strike, the rest of the workers in that industry remain at work because they consider themselves bound by contracts."

"In France we see in such events the metemorphosis, machine men, women, officers, in short all workers on the payroll of the railway company, going out together. And if such is not effective, a general strike of all workers in that city is called. A strike of that sort practically amounts to a holiday for the workers."

"Along these lines the Industrial Workers of the World proposes to organize a local union of the I. W. W. in Detroit is in process of formation. Mr. Trautmann will return to this city in the near future."

A BULLETIN SUB. CONTENT.

The I. W. W. Propaganda League of Chicago has initiated a prize contest with a view to extending the circulation of the Industrial Union Bulletin in that industrial center. Prized sub. cards in blocks of ten have been ordered by the League, and the different contestants to be sold by them. The contest is to end June 1, and the contestant showing on that date the largest number of subs. to his credit will be awarded a prize of \$750. Quite a number of fellow workers have already entered this contest, and we have reason to expect a substantial increase in the circulation of the official organ as a result of their activity within the next three months. Similar contests may be started with profit in other localities. A word to the wise is always sufficient."

I. W. W. LECTURE IN NEW YORK.

Miss Rose Strinsky will lecture under auspices of the New York District Council at Brevoort Hall, 156 E. 54th St., Sunday, February 28, at 3 p. m. The subject of the lecture will be "The Russian Labor Union and the Revolution." Miss Strinsky is equipped with first-hand knowledge of Russian conditions, and her lecture should prove instructive to all wage workers in New York and vicinity. Questions and discussion will follow the lecture. Admission is free."

PROPAGANDA LEAGUE LECTURES.

Sunday evening, February 21, Elizabeth G. Flynn gave a very instructive lecture under the auspices of the Chicago Propaganda League, at 35 North Clark street, on the subject, "Why Women of the Working Class Need Not Be Interested in Woman Suffrage."

The speaker argued not so much against woman suffrage in itself as against the emphasis now being placed by Socialists upon a question of secondary importance. She pointed out that woman's activity in the labor movement promised more fruitful results along the line of building up the economic organization, by which alone conditions in industry could be improved and rendered more nearly equal for both men and women, and the danger of "sex war," which was one of the greatest possibilities of the agitation merely for "equal political rights."

The meeting was well attended, and interest manifested throughout the lecture and the discussion which followed. The next Sunday, February 28, at the same hour (8 o'clock) and place (35 North Clark street), Theodore Hertz will speak on "Tendencies in the European Trades Unions towards Industrial Unionism." The chairman of these two lectures was made on account of the fact that Miss Flynn will speak in Buffalo on the 28th."

MASS MEETING IN FULLMAN.

A mass meeting under the auspices of Local 500, I. W. W., will be held in Van Meter's Hall, corner 11th and Michigan avenues, Fullman, Sunday afternoon, March 14, at 3 o'clock. Good speakers will address the meeting. Everybody invited."

WALSH HEADS OFF VIOLENCE.

From the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman-Review of January 18 we take the following account of an alleged "riot" on the day before in front of an employment agency in that city:

"Hurling rocks and chairs of ice threatening windows of the Red Cross employment agency, 224 Stevens street, several members of a noisy mob of between 2,000 and 3,000 idle men were about to attempt to wreck the place, about 5 o'clock last evening, when James H. Walsh, organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, mounting a chair in the street, stemmed the rising tide of riot and pacified the multitude. In the opinion of the police had it not been for the intervention of Walsh a riot would surely have followed, as the rabble was worked up to such a pitch that its members would readily have attempted violence. Walsh discouraged violence and summoned all members of the I. W. W. to their hall at the rear of 412-420 Front avenue. The police dispersed the rest."

"At the time there were more than a dozen policemen on the scene and so pacifying the situation became that of Police Elice had issued instructions to Desk Officer Walter Hogan to summon at once from their homes every member of the night squad. The entire street from Main avenue to Front avenue was black with a howling, surging mass of discontented men. At intervals yells of derision arose and many of the crowd spurred others to commit violence. The police moved through the mob, keeping the peace the while."

Walsh Heads With Mob.

"No good came to you from such a demonstration as this," said Walsh in a commanding voice. Whoever threw these missiles are not actuated by the spirit of the Industrial Workers of the World. The police are innocent and if a riot is started many heads cracked. The militia will be called out and there may be bloodshed."

"I want every member of the I. W. W. to come with me to the hall immediately, where we can talk this thing over."

"At the hall Walsh warned the crowd against an outbreak. 'There were a lot of hired Pinkertons in that crowd,' he said. 'All they wanted you to do was to do violence, finally being permitted they would have an excuse for shooting you down or smashing your heads in. As far as I am concerned I'll knock the block off any employment agency that is likely to have the kind of a crowd that's all right. But you can gain nothing by resorting to mob rule.'

"Following Walsh's appeal the men marched in an orderly manner to the I. W. W. hall, where a meeting was held last night. Officers stood guard at the employment office until a late hour, but there was no renewal of the demonstration."

Speaking of another and more violent demonstration on the afternoon of February 16, the same paper says: "During the melee Organizer Walsh mounted a soap box and attempted to address the mob. He was at once opposed by the police, who misunderstood his efforts, and finally being permitted to speak, he led the crowd to the I. W. W. hall, in the basement of the Union Hotel, 412 to 420 Front avenue, where, in an address he advised against further violence, and succeeded in quieting the spirit of violence."

"The Lawrence employment office and the Levi Deller store suffered principally from yesterday's attacks, the windows in each establishment being broken in at approximately \$150. A later feature of the affair is that the windows of the Mecho employment office, about which the mob for four hours centered its attentions, escaped being the victims of a broken transom being the extent of the damage."

"Employment firms which also suffered broken windows are the Red Cross, 224 Stevens street, and Walker, 238 Stevens street, Spokane Employment office, 218 Stevens street; also the plate glass window of Benny Caputo's saloon, 213 Stevens street, in which is located the W. J. Forder employment office, was cracked and a pane in the glass panel of the doors of the Logan Hotel, adjacent to the saloon, was shattered."

"Six arrests were made during the afternoon, the charge of disorderly conduct being placed against each. They are Ernest Kruger, alleged ringleader; Peter Jones, accused of striking Macho; Waeli Comar, who struck Officer Bort; Joe Parvich, who resisted arrest by Officer Warner; James Koonan, Ernest W. Hall and Otto Haades, accused of throwing rocks."

"At 8 o'clock last night a meeting in the I. W. W. was held at the organization's hall, at which Organizer Walsh spoke, counselling against violence. He said in part:

"Any fight we make must be a peaceful one, the organization must be a legal fight. We are not a fighting organization, and if you try violence you will run up against a proposition you can't get around. If you continue breaking windows and cleaning out employment offices you will run up against the police, and if they can't handle you, you will run up against the soldiers."

"But it is up to us to keep up in a right way the fight against the capitalist class, and we must not let our business, and then the employers

will come to us for labor. The employment men job you and all but starve you, and there is only one way you can get out of their hold. That is by joining the I. W. W. and refusing to go to them for jobs."

"In speaking of yesterday's violence Mr. Walsh said:

"While I know that a large number of I. W. W. men took part, they did so without instructions from the organization. I know nothing of it until some of the boys told me. As an organizer of the I. W. W. I had nothing to do with it."

"However, unless the employment offices cease their present method of operation I believe there will occur much more serious affairs than that of today."

EMPLOYMENT "SHARKS."

Denver, as well as Spokane, fighting Thieving Institutions.

From time immemorial workmen have suffered from fraud practiced upon them by dishonest employment agents, says the New York Journal. There is hardly a community anywhere from which at some time or other a cry has not been raised against these snakes. The honest men in the business have protested against the grafters just as loudly as have the workmen themselves."

But the trades unions of Denver have taken hold of the employment agency in a manner that promises most satisfactory results."

It appears that the agencies in Denver became simply swindling sharks, where the unsophisticated workmen were fleeced most unmercifully. Men applying for situations paid the required fee and were then shipped to some outside town, where they failed to secure the promised job and were left stranded, in many cases unable to get back to their home or friends."

The unions took the matter up recently, and the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovelers taking the lead, an employment agency in charge of a trusted official of the union has been established. War has been declared upon the "old line" agencies, and they will either be driven out of Denver or compelled to deal honestly with the men who apply to them for jobs."

The Denver labor men say that appeals to the authorities failed to bring about a correction of the methods of the crooked agencies. Therefore the organizations of labor have taken the matter in their own hands and are going to handle it in a practical way."

THE PROLETARIAT.

Yesterday.

Hail to the Proletarian Clan, Hail to them, woman, child and man. They are the slaves and malleable. Bowed under interest, profits and rents."

They are the many—Workers, too, That toil for the idle, useless few. They rise, and make all needful things. They wealth."

That the rulers take by force and stealth. They have shabby roofs and scanty beds."

Tattered rags, and slender bodies. The days and years may come and go. There is a life of want and woe."

They live on an age beyond their ken, An age that sneers at useful men. As age whose God and Great I Am, Is time, tissue, shoddy and sham."

They have straggled on twist hopes Of better days, and better times. O'er pathways drenched in blood and tears, Till at length they see in blazing light The age long truth, that might is right."

Today.

They palpitate with quivering thought, Prepare to fight as ne'er they fought. Red banner to the breeze unfurled, They claim their own—the whole wide world."

On every continent and isle, In myriad rank and countless file, They rise, and trembling fling a shout With their dread cry, "Workers Unite."

"Unite" resounds from field and mine, From mountain peak to swelling brine, In city streets, o'er desert waste, Past surging seas, through distant lands."

"Unite" to break for aye the chains That fetter now your brows and brains. Enact the role that history, In blood and iron, has writ for thee."

Nay—Capital cannot avert Its certain doom, how'er alert. Too sudden now to abdicate, It sallies now to meet its fate."

Tomorrow.

Breat the giant labor stands, Aflot it lifts its mighty hands, Conquering the blow descends, The race less class struggle ends."

The wings of morning sweep the East, Assembling throngs prepare the feast. The old, the young, the brave, the fair, Earth's best—the colored and the fair—Were completely secure in that direction."

—JOHN PHILLAN.

STORY OF GLOBE LOCKOUT

The following is a report of recent occurrences in Globe, Arizona, to the Arizona State Union of the Western Federation of Miners. It is written by an Executive Board member of the A. S. U., and gives a graphic picture of some of the latest events in the great struggle for supremacy between miner and mine-owner in the West. From Idaho to Colorado; from Nevada to Arizona—the drama is ever the same, and is but a part of the greater drama of the labor movement that can only end with the triumph of the working class organized East and West into a class organization on the industrial field whose purpose is "to take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

Globe, Ariz., Feb. 1, 1909.

To the Executive Board of the A. S. U.: Fellow Workers—The late trouble in Globe, as viewed in the retrospect, furnishes good material for thought for students and men interested in the great struggle between the classes. It is with that idea in mind that I take the trouble of giving the matter a detailed write-up, adding comments and giving impressions as they stamped themselves upon my mind."

Immediately after the election of September last, which resulted in complete new blood being returned and, almost without exception, in the different positions in the union being filled by the so-called radicals (more specifically described by the name of Industrial Unionists), there was noticeable dissatisfaction with results, shown in the ranks of the employers. At the second visit of Secretary Hohen and Special Delegate Albert Willis to the grounds of the Old Dominion, both were ordered to leave the premises by Mr. Kingdom, superintendent of that mine. Since then Albert Willis has repeatedly been invited to "keep off the grass" but he took no notice further than to report matters in the union meetings, where he was repeatedly upheld in his course of ignoring the command of the company. Matters rubbed along, the delegate insisting upon performing his duties, to the apparent chagrin of the company officials. Things, however, came to a head when in the second week of January Sheriff Thompson informed Secretary Hohen that he was ordered to remove the delegate Willis if he ever again ventured on company grounds in his official capacity."

A special meeting of the union was immediately convened. Albert Willis was specifically instructed to ignore the threat, and fifty men volunteered to take his place if he was jailed. Several days elapsed, Willis visiting the grounds every day, backed up by the fifty well organized; nothing happened. The company next erected a block-house, and with a full force of deputies at their back, forbade all but employees to enter the grounds. As per instructions of the union, Albert Willis and myself, as next in line of the volunteers, entered the grounds by another road, and erected a block-house. The company tools, by bluff and threats, endeavored to eject us. We point blank refused to budge an inch. A deputy sheriff then approached and said we were under arrest, and requested that we go with him to jail. We, of course, complied, but as we passed the block-house others immediately took our places on the company's grounds. The deputy, however, when we stepped off the premises, told us to return, and we immediately returned. We told him politely that he caused our withdrawal from the grounds by false pretenses, and we immediately went back, where we were again intimidated by the company tools, whose instructions, however, evidently did not include actual violence."

The superintendent, Mr. Kingdom, then posted the following notice: "All employees are hereby notified that the mine is shut down, beginning tomorrow, for an indefinite time." That settled it. We went back to the union hall and reported. But here I must digress and relate another phase of the company's campaign against the union. After the notification of Sheriff Thompson, and before the lockout occurred, one Trojanovich, partner of the notorious Glansen of Copper Queen infamy, a Slavonian well versed in the English language, assisted by others, carried on a systematic propaganda among the countrymen, the purpose being to cause that nationality to form an independent union and divorce themselves from the W. F. M. Another special meeting of the union was held for the purpose of ascertaining how much interest in the aforementioned machinations had caused. The Slavonians and Italians were there to a man, and the vigorous action of the company was attributed to Trojanovich's actions attributed beyond the shadow of a doubt the true blue makeup of those foreign fellow workers, and I will say right here that the subsequent understanding of the labor movement and the class-conscious solidarity shown by the Slavonians and Italians was a revelation that should cause the most confirmed pessimist to conclude that there was no ground for fear; we were completely secure in that direction."

The next move of the company was the lockout. It undoubtedly had for its purpose the cleavage of the union through another element, namely, the Cornishmen. I am sorry to say that in that quarter we were not so well entrenched. Consternation immediately set in, and, with honorable exceptions, one tear hawl, "Fire the delegates," was the order of the day from that national, re-echoed in plaintive tones by other English-speaking workers. The "fire the delegate" bunch immediately called for a special meeting, which was so held at that time, and more than half the meeting was, therefore, adjourned to meet at Dreamland, the largest hall in the city, the following day at 9 o'clock."

Executive Board Member Clough of the Federation had then arrived and took part in the deliberations. The so-called radicals had been advocating a course of "passive resistance," by leaving the company scope to make the next move. That method, however, had to be abandoned. The official, the so-called clamer for immediate action, Clough advised that a committee of five be elected to look over the situation and report important matters to special meetings to be called whenever the committee deemed it necessary. This was too slow a way for the anxious and eager jobites, so the motion was amended to go into a committee of the whole. The argument for motion and amendment was so good that there was absolutely nothing left to be said. It was alleged that the different companies promised to again start work if Delegate Willis was gotten rid of, but everything was hazy, and, at best, a mere suggestion. 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THE "SLUM PROLETARIAT."

Immediately after the second I. W. W. convention the sonorous phrase monger, otherwise known as editor of the *Miners' Magazine*, coined and hurled at the majority of delegates to that convention a number of choice epithets. Among others were such expressions as "proletaire rabble," "beggars," "coffee and doughnut brigade," and other more high-sounding phrases for which that pompous individual is somewhat noted in his limited circle. The I. W. W., however, survived the ordeal.

A second time, following the fourth convention of the I. W. W., an equally celebrated coiner of phrases echoed the same cry in slightly different and more sinister terms. The editor of *The People* not only "shook hands over the bloody chasm" with the editor of the *Miners' Magazine*, but even went O'Neill one better by calling the majority of the fourth convention's delegates "park-bench loafers," "bum brigade," and "slum proletariat." These phrases have been bandied about the country by irresponsible followers of DeLeon, in an effort to apply them universally to the I. W. W. membership.

We have no reason to waste space deploring the attitude of the above-named individuals and their followers. Both O'Neill and DeLeon may be expected to feel sore at the well-merited drubbings they and their respective followings received from the proletarian delegates of two I. W. W. conventions. The failure of the O'Neill, Mahoney, Sherman element to dominate the second convention accounted for their attitude in 1906, just as the failure of the "Danites" to control the fourth convention accounts for their attitude at present. That is taken as a matter of course.

But, lest some workmen, unacquainted with the lay of the land, may chance to hear the cry, "slum proletariat," and be led astray thereby, we wish to take up this charge, and distinguish between the "slum proletariat," properly so called, and that element of the working class in the I. W. W. to whom this term has been falsely applied.

The "slum proletariat" does not consist of workers, but rather, as Marx defines it, of "the 'dangerous' class, the social scum, that PASSIVELY rotting class thrown off by the lowest layers of old society"—in short, of parasites of the "under world." Nor are the slums recruited entirely from the working class. On the contrary, the dominant and "dangerous" slum elements are made-up for the most part of former members of the middle and professional classes who have been forced into the slums by the pressure of concentrated capital and by the overcrowding of the "professions." "Cockroach" business men, shyster lawyers, quack doctors, petty politicians, "professors" of various sorts, who have failed to find a foothold in the realm of "respectability," are annually added in large numbers to the slums of our great cities. The previous training of these elements in the business and professional worlds, where the qualities of the mental prostitute, petty grafter and cheat predominate, eminently fit them for their less "respectable" careers in the slums.

Associated with the middle-class elements in the slums are, of course, many former members of the working class, especially women, whom starvation wages in department stores and factories have driven into the ranks of prostitutes. Added to these are mental and physical cripples, and degenerate victims of alcohol and of various constitutional diseases. These last, however, are too far down in the mental and physical scale to be feared. Possessing neither initiative nor will sufficient to be directed, they can play little or no part either way in the labor movement. Of the elements that compose the slums, in the first-named (middle class) are by far the more dangerous, for reasons already indicated. It is from their ranks that Pinkertons and other capitalist agents are mainly recruited. "Their conditions of life prepare them for the part of bribed tools of reactionary intrigue."

But the cry, "slum proletariat," uttered by enemies of the I. W. W., does not proceed from the discovery of such elements in the organization. On the contrary, that cry is raised against a militant element of the working class, popularly known in the West as the "hobo." Conditions of life and industry in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states must be understood in order to appreciate the role of the "hobo" plays in the labor movement of that section.

With a territory embracing in area more than one-third of the United States, that section of the country has a combined population scarcely exceeding that of the single state of New York. Within that vast area large capital is dominant as elsewhere, although as compared with the eastern part of the country, industries are few, scattered and undeveloped.

Like the pioneers of an earlier day, workingmen who travel westward are for the most part imbued with the restless spirit of enterprise born of the desire for improved conditions. But unlike the pioneer seeking a homestead and finding it, the modern wage worker who "goes west" finds no alternative except to hunt for a master. Often the search is a long one, and the duration of employment brief in any one place. Hence economic necessity compels these men to shift from one section to another. A miner, working in Butte, Montana, at a given time, may inside of a month from that date be greeting former associates in Bisbee, Arizona. Lumber workers travel the length and breadth of the lumber belt, being now in British Columbia, again along the Columbia River in Oregon; in the red woods of California; among the camps and sawmill towns of Western Montana, and so on throughout the whole section. These workingmen, strong limbed, resolute, self-reliant—many of them of the finest specimens of American manhood—constitute the leaven of the revolutionary labor movement of the West.

With his perceptions quickened by travel and varied experience, the "hobo" not only absorbs readily the idea of industrial unionism, but carries that idea with him wherever he goes. Leaving his job whenever conditions do not suit him, he leaves with it the spirit of revolt awakened by him among the more conservative "home guard" of the locality. The "hobo" is, above all, a union man, and hates a scab or a "company sucker."

It was the "hobo" miner that constituted the backbone of the Western Federation of Miners in its struggles with the Mine Owners' Association. He it was who led the fights in Cripple Creek and Telluride, in Bisbee and Goldfield; and it is he that is struggling today, with some notable exceptions, among the "home guard," to save Butte from the "copper collar" of the Standard Oil. It was the "hobo" miner that forced the W. F. of M. into line with the new Industrial Union Movement in 1905; resisted the wave of reaction that followed the second convention of the I. W. W.; and is striving with might and main today

to prevent the W. F. of M. from falling into the ranks of "conservative, safe and sane" labor organizations.

In the lumber, general farming, and fruit industries of the West, similar types of shifting workers are found. At the end of the harvest, or when the lumber camps close down in the fall, thousands of fruit pickers, harvest hands and lumber jacks gather for a few months in cities like Spokane, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles, where they spend much of their leisure in public libraries and show up in large numbers at Socialist and I. W. W. meetings. Their susceptibility to the propaganda of Industrial Unionism has already been noted. Thousands of books, pamphlets and papers are purchased every season by these workers, read and distributed by them wherever they go. There is scarcely a nook or corner of the West that has not heard of the Industrial Workers of the World and that is not ripe for industrial organization, thanks mainly to the "hobo" agitator. In proportion to population the West has by far purchased and distributed more I. W. W. literature, furnished more readers of the Bulletin, and contributed more to the financial support of the organization, than the entire section east of the Rocky Mountains. The very papers that have been and are now slandering the "hobo" worker by characterizing him as "beggars" and "slum proletariat," owe their influence in the West largely to his efforts past and present. He is the leaven of the revolutionary industrial union movement in the West, and his absence in proportionate numbers from the East, accounts in large measure for the slowness of the Eastern workers to awaken from their lethargy.

The "hobo" in his travels does not "always ride first-class." He may not enjoy the luxury of "health bread" or of a "summer home" beside the "cool and beautiful shores of Long Island Sound." But hard as his lot is at times, he does not continually complain of "sacrifices," nor "with tears in his eyes" describe his "sufferings in jail" or elsewhere in behalf of the "wage slave ground beneath the iron heel of corporate despotism." With him "the substance surpasses the phrase," and he is content to endure hardship if only his labors will bring nearer the dawn of emancipation.

The cry, "slum proletariat," like that of "dynamiter," is an intended "shield" to reaction in its worst stage of disappointment and consequent mendacity. The cry can in no way affect the spirit of those against whom it is falsely uttered, nor can it long mislead honest workers who investigate the facts.

RESOLUTION ON PRESTON AND SMITH AFFAIR.

(Adopted by the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.)

WHEREAS, In March, 1907, John Silva, a restaurant keeper of Goldfield, Nevada, had trouble with a waitress and discharged her; and WHEREAS, Because of the fact that after discharging the girl, Silva stubbornly refused to pay her the wages due, a strike was called and pickets established to induce people not to patronize the restaurant while the strike was on; and

WHEREAS, Silva seeing fellow worker M. R. Preston doing picket duty outside of the restaurant, grabbed a revolver and aimed at Preston; and

WHEREAS, Preston, realizing it was a case of life or death, drew his own revolver and shot Silva in self-defense and then gave himself up to the authorities; and

WHEREAS, Fellow Worker Joseph Smith, who was not present at the time and knew nothing of what had happened, was arrested and along with Preston indicted for murder; and

WHEREAS, In the so-called trial that followed, irrelevant testimony tending to confuse the jury and prejudice their minds against the defendants was accepted from men who have a record as professional thugs and hold-up men; and

WHEREAS, The counsel for the State was permitted to tell the jury, "You must convict the defendants because such a conviction will tend to cause people living outside of Nevada to invest their money in the State and so bring about great prosperity. Convict these men as an example"; and

WHEREAS, The judge by not allowing proper cross-examination of witnesses, by his different rulings during the trial (?) as well as in his charge to the jury showed himself to be either violently prejudiced against the defendants or overanxious to serve the robber class who were persecuting them; and

WHEREAS, In spite of being coerced into a verdict the jury recommended the defendants to the mercy of the court; and

WHEREAS, Fellow Worker Preston was sentenced to serve twenty-five years and Fellow Worker Smith ten years in prison for manslaughter; and

WHEREAS, In the case of Fellow Worker Preston it is clear that he did nothing except to obey the first law of nature—self-preservation; and WHEREAS, Manslaughter as defined by the laws of Nevada is as follows: "Manslaughter is the unlawful killing of a human being without malice, expressed or implied, and without any mixture of deliberation. It must be voluntary upon a sudden heat of passion, caused by provocation, apparently sufficient to make the passion irresistible; or, involuntary in the commission of an unlawful act or a lawful act, without due caution or circumspection"; and

WHEREAS, It is conceded that Fellow Worker Smith was home with his family at the time Silva was killed and therefore his conviction under the above law is an absurdity; and

WHEREAS, It is clear from the above facts that the trial of Preston and Smith was a farce and their conviction a crime against the working class; and

WHEREAS, The only real criminals in this case are those who "wearing the purple of hypocrisy" in the form of "spread eagle" talks about "justice," "liberty," "prosperity," "civilized methods," etc., are slowly taking the lives of our fellow workers in the prison of Nevada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we gather together all the facts in this case and carefully search out the records of all the men behind it and keep it ever before the workers as a sample of the kind of law and the kind of "even-handed justice" the ruling class of this country sometimes ask us to defend with our lives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to secure the freedom of our fellow workers, Preston and Smith.

RESOLUTION ON MEXICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

(Adopted by the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.)

WHEREAS, the ruling class of Mexico, through its chief representative, President Porfirio Diaz, and his army of sneaking, lying witnesses and butchers, have succeeded in grinding the members of our class in that country down to a condition of slavery almost unequalled in history; and

WHEREAS, These members of our class, obeying the first law of nature, self-preservation, are bravely striving against terrible odds to better their condition; and

WHEREAS, Certain active workers in this struggle, among whom are Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera, having sought refuge in the United States, and having been trailed here by the human bloodhounds of President Diaz, are, through the co-operation of American officials, being held in prison in this country; and

WHEREAS, Jan Janoff Pourten, owing to a struggle going on in Russia almost identical with that in Mexico, has, in order to escape the bloody hand of the Czar, also sought refuge in this country and has likewise been thrown into prison; and

WHEREAS, By thus co-operating with the emissaries of the Czar and President Diaz in bounding these political refugees, the ruling class of this country shows that it considers itself as one with the robber classes of other countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, extend greetings of solidarity to our fellow workers in Mexico and Russia, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to secure the freedom of all political refugees in this country.

IMPORTANT TO READERS OF THE BULLETIN.

FELLOW WORKERS:

You all realize the utmost importance of the Bulletin to the organization.

It is the means of communication between the members of the organization.

It is the one and only avenue of publicity that the organization has.

All of you must have realized the effort it has cost to maintain the Bulletin.

The temporary suspension of the Bulletin has served to emphasize these facts.

The present situation in the labor movement of this country makes it more than ever imperative that the WEEKLY BULLETIN be assured.

In order to have the paper on a self-sustaining basis at the subscription price of 50 cents per year, 20,000 copies must be printed. Until this number is had the cost of issuing the Bulletin will be an expense on the organization.

To meet this expense we are submitting the following propositions to the readers of the Bulletin:

1. Are you willing to contribute the sum of 50 cents or more as a donation to the Bulletin in the present emergency?

2. Are you in favor of raising the subscription price of the Bulletin to \$1.00 per year?

Cut out the below coupon and send it in at once with your answers to the above questions.

VINCENT ST. JOHN.

Vincent St. John,
310 Bush Temple,
Chicago, Illinois.

I hereby enclose as a donation to the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN SUSTAINING FUND, which you will please acknowledge receipt of in the paper.

I vote raising the subscription price of the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN from 50 cents to \$1.00 per year.

Yours truly,

Name

Address

A LESSON IN CIVILIZED TACTICS.

How the I. W. W. Entertains Its Visitors.

By Catharine Flynn, New York.

I have read in the paper lately about the tactics strike and the interruption of some of their meetings by the police. This reminds me of an incident which occurred at one of the meetings of the Transportation Local of the I. W. W.

The Transportation Department were conducting a strike which caused much sensation and disturbance among the newspapers, police and employers. Their outdoor meetings were broken up by the police as often as possible, the newspapers gave bad reports of them, and they did everything in general that could be done to hinder the strike.

One evening the strikers announced their intention of holding a business meeting. At the appointed hour and place they met to discuss several necessary things in connection with the strike. Several members of the organization were making his report. The door opened, and ten or twelve policemen entered, led by their captain, and lined themselves up in the back of the hall. Several members of the organization arose excitedly, but the chairman rapped loudly for order, and bade them resume their seats. The financial secretary looked at his report, the audience, the policemen, and the chairman, in succession, very much confused. The chairman asked the policemen to remove their hats, but they refused. He requested them to be seated, but the captain replied that they preferred to remain standing. Some one arose, and moved that the report of the financial secretary be laid on the table until the next meeting. The motion was seconded, put, and carried. Then the chairman said: "Considering the fact that there are visitors in the hall tonight, I am calling on me to speak before so large, intelligent and appreciative an audience, but I will do my very best to explain our principles briefly. As our time is greatly limited, I will not go into them deeply. So I will explain briefly the socialist theories, their relative position to Christianity, the relation between trades unionism and the woman question, that of law and the land question to the social and labor problem, the difference between trades unionism and anarchism and its relation to wages and religion, the position of the socialists on evolution and the unemployed, their ideas on the growth of woman suffrage and the Paris Commune, and, if our time will allow, I will explain historical materialism, sex relation, and the attitude of the socialists on the new method of spelling, and, if our friends are then still interested, I will give a brief outline of Karl Marx's theory of value. Then, if our friends are not weary, I will go deeper into the philosophy of Industrial Unionism and its various phases."

O'Hara seemed then in his element and enjoying himself immensely. The audience settled themselves for a good lecture. The policemen listened attentively and politely. O'Hara talked rapidly for about two hours without stopping, and was then so weary that at the beginning, except that he leaned against the speaker's desk. Then the policemen yawned, and looked longingly at those who were seated. But this only increased O'Hara's energy, and he

stood on both feet and talked longer. When two hours and a half had passed, a man arose in the back, and disputed the speaker, asking for the floor to prove his point. He talked for some time, citing cases from the history of various countries to convince his listeners. He said he would read from Karl Marx' "Value, Price and Profit" to show that O'Hara was wrong. Then he drew from his pocket a worn and tattered pamphlet, and read it over cover to cover, and ended his argument by a dissertation on the Paris Commune. Then a little son of Israel arose. He said, in Jewish dialect, "Mister Chairman: I would like to dispute the last speaker. If you will give me the floor for a few minutes, I will convince him that I am right." He then talked for half an hour in broken English which no one understood but himself, and sat down, fully satisfied that he had convinced the last speaker (who was asleep) and O'Hara, also.

Some of the policemen looked at their elms almost longingly. Then O'Hara arose, and said that both were wrong, much to the indignation of the Jew and the historian, who were just awakened and showed signs of getting dangerous. He tried to drown the Jew's voice and O'Hara's shouts and the chairman's repeated raps for order by every possible way. At last order was restored. The interruption of the historian and the Jew had only refreshed O'Hara, who started again with renewed energy. The policemen were now getting quite tired. They looked longingly at the empty chairs, the door, the sleepers, and the captain. But O'Hara talked on. They leaned on one leg, and then the other, and one policeman, who stood near a wall, leaned against it, and in the shadow of the rim of his hat, his eyes looked closed, and he seemed to have the bad habit of breathing through his mouth. The captain looked as if he, too, were losing courage, and were wishing that he had accepted the chair. When the time advanced towards the early hours of morning, most were weary but O'Hara and a few others who saw and then disappeared him, much to the uneasiness of the visitors.

At last the captain looked at his watch, and muttered something which, though it could not be exactly understood, did not sound very nice from a visitor and a captain of police, and turning towards the door, led his men out, much to their relief. As they were going out, the historian was the last to leave, saying: "A point of order," but it was drowned by the slamming of the door.

Our story ends with the exit of the police. I do not know what happened after that, except that the meetings of the Transportation Local of the Industrial Workers of the World were never again disturbed by the police.

I. W. W. ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE.

The twenty-eighth anniversary of the Paris Commune, which occurs on the 18th of March, will be commemorated in Chicago two days later, March 20, 1909, by a grand entertainment and dance given by the I. W. W. Propaganda League. The affair will be held in Bohemian School Hall on the South Side at 48th and Honore streets. Music for the occasion will be furnished by Prof. Weicker's Band and the Bohemian Singing Society, a well known Bohemian society of Chicago. A first class entertainment is promised all who attend. All I. W. W. members and readers of the Bulletin should come to this entertainment and bring as many of their friends as possible. Admission 25 cents, including wardrobe.

WOODWORKERS OF NEW YORK.

Local 680, I. W. W., meets every first and third Wednesday evening at Headquarters of the New York Industrial Council at 250 West 125th Street, Woodworkers of any branch should attend.

SECRETARY.

FORECAST OF AN INDUSTRIALIST.

BY W. L. FISHER, PORTLAND, ORE.

In this article the writer does not presume to prophesy, as he is not a prophet; but draws his conclusions from the study of capitalist production and what its constant aggressions compel the workers to do to prevent that aggression, as well as to follow on their natural desire, that is, to gain more of the product of their labor as well as shorter hours and better working conditions.

Such a forecast will no doubt be called utopian by the philosophic generalizers of the old school, but the writer perceives the facility of their generalizations and the necessity of integrally organizing the workers to take and hold what they produce by their labor.

Conditions demand the efficient organization of ourselves so we can resist the power of International Capitalism and while so building up our power, form the instrument for the expropriation of the capitalist class, a power that can take and hold and conduct industry for the workers.

The Socialist movement has three stages or periods. First, the utopian stage, a criticism of the capitalist power, pointing out the evils of capitalism in its relation to the wage laborers as well as to society as a whole—a period of fruitless experimentation in trying to solve the social question, the projectors of which were bourgeois. Second, the theoretical and political; the period of gathering of data, collaborating the same and formulating conclusions as to the outcome of the capitalist mode of production. We see here great political activity, the formation of political parties and through them the teaching of theoretical conclusions so far derived from the study of the capitalist mode of production. This second period is one of compromise to bourgeois forms and traditions wrapped up in the delusions of political forms and action. It has rendered great service in spreading revolutionary economic teachings. Its weakness lies in that it is mainly political, parliamentary, and only weakly and ineffectually organized the workers in the industries to control the social labor power of the workers for the workers.

The third stage upon which we are now entering is that of the organization of the social labor power of the working class, for the working class. The purpose and possibilities of such organization have begun to understand, that is, to overthrow capitalist society and substitute in its place the industrial administration of the workers.

The capitalist control of society is by control of the labor power of the workers. The capitalists are enabled to control this because of the competition that exists between the workers. It takes means to destroy this competition between the workers, and we overthrow capitalism. The way to get control of the productive forces by the working class lies along similar lines to the methods used by the capitalist, that is, the organization and control of the social labor power. The dissimilarity is the psychological difference. The working class power depends upon knowledge of the workers' place in production, their common interest and ways and means to gain their common interest. In short, the workers strengthen their power through the knowledge of society and the workers by a strike or other means to facts, while the capitalist class maintains its hold by lying, trickery, fraud, superstition, enslaving and debauching the workers, militarism, political trickery, etc. In short, the capitalist class must be so. Its very life depends upon its "refuge of lies and covenant with death"—the prostitute power, pulp and schools, the military and police, and largely through the use of political democracy. Well may the capitalist let the workers delude themselves into thinking they can get hold of an institution of society, political government, when they, the capitalists, control what is called the industries. But the capitalists use government; they have convinced society government is sacred; has not the church said government is of God? Its mandates are unquestioned. Because of this training a policeman a foot high chases a thousand workers. This superstition of the sacredness and inviolability of government is a powerful factor in the capitalist control of the workers. The struggle by the workers to capture a hollow form is useful to the capitalist class, as it detracts the workers' mind and energy from the real work in hand, the organization of the workers.

Now one mission of industrial unionism is to dispel the superstition of political government and show who does control and must control society and its institutions—the class that has organized and directs the social labor power of the workers. But how shall the workers organize their social labor power so as to secure the full product of their labor? It is unnecessary to say that the purpose of craft unionism is useless, all observers and thinkers recognize it has had its day. Clearly, if the workers are to organize to secure the full product of their labor they must conform their organization to the methods of production and distribution of commodities. As examples let us take a modern textile mill and a railway station. Each has more than thirty crafts and classes of labor. Craft unionism would place them in as many unions, each with its separate contract, each holding its contract with the boss as sacred, thus rendering them powerless or easy to defeat in fact, would systematically disorganize them.

The industrialist on the other hand sees that the workers in the textile mill are a unit, all engaged in the production of textiles. The railroad workers like are a unit, all engaged in transportation. Consequently organize these industrial units in one body to act in concert. As all industries are interrelated, each depending on the others, the industrial union would correlate all industries in one general administration to act in common in all affairs relating to the general welfare. Because of this interdependence of labor, if one part is threatened or injured, all will be threatened or injured; so the industrialist perceives an injury to one worker is an injury to all. The industrial union, therefore, would act as it is threatened in part or as a whole to protect its interests or organization. Contracts or agreements never stand in the way nor are considered but to be subverted and the workers strengthened. Thus the industrial union sets aside, ignores, or overthrows, every capitalist law, institution or interest it has power to, and in

their place sets an the industrial administration of the workers. Such a union must necessarily study and take advantage of improved methods of action to gain its ends; it cannot afford to cut and dry its methods. Whatever it finds is the best way to get any desired result, the union must take the fact that it must take account of the situation and act accordingly.

Craft unionism is not only guilty of teaching falsely an identity of interest between employer and employee, of making and keeping contracts with the bosses and of systematically dividing labor; but also it is in the way as to its methods of action. The strike, the injunction when used against labor, and boycott and the appeal to capitalist courts, all are in a cut and dried manner. Often the craft unions give the bosses six months or a year's notice, plenty of time to prepare to meet and defeat the strike. Besides the greater number often remain at work in a given shop or industry, thus helping the boss to defeat those that are out. And this system of every shop for itself, the excuse of keeping your contracts.

What would the industrial union do in case of a disagreement on wages or other shop regulations? If advisable it would inaugurate a general strike in the shop or industry. Say if it were a lumber mill, then no longshoreman would handle the lumber; no railroad employee would take a single car of lumber; no teamster would haul any carpenter's tools. Brothers who use the power of boycott that mill; no longer would get out any logs for it. In fact we would do all in our power to completely isolate that mill in order to force compliance with our terms. If not advisable to walk out, then the men would work slower, turn out an inferior product, give unnecessary time to detail; in fact, do what they could to cut down the owner's profit, thus compelling him to concede the point in dispute. But such may precipitate a lockout; a card system forcing the employees to sign an agreement not to belong to a union or in any way act in concert. With a body of workers that knows where its interests lay, such tactics of the employers are futile; for, sign what agreements they may be compelled to, when the time comes for concerted action they are a unit. Such a union cannot be destroyed. Another weapon especially applicable to the railroad workers is the "passive strike." Railroad workers recognize that rules are largely made to protect the company in case of damage and when accidents occur, not to protect life and limb of employees. No railroad system can long run with the force at hand if the rules are obeyed to the letter. If the railroad employees have a grievance, the boss will refuse to settle, right. The employees give a thorough obedience to the minutest detail. What is the result? In a very short time the system or systems involved are blocked, not a train can move except with great difficulty. If the railroad tries to get the men to relieve the blockade, identical tactics will be taken on all connecting lines; if need be, on all railroads the country over. If not relieve by conceding to the men, general demoralization and panic seizes the whole country. If continued too long revolution intervenes, overthrowing the very owners of the roads. It is cheaper to concede than face such an alternative.

The capitalist judge at the bidding of his master issues an injunction against labor in its disputes. Labor seeks the legislative bodies to remedy the matter and is injured. What would your industrial unionists do? Disregard such injunction in mass, not only in the shop or industry involved, but everywhere possible. Such action would make the injunction so much waste paper, thus destroying this power of capitalist society, and give a severe blow to the judiciary.

As to the boycott, craft unionism has not and can not enforce a true boycott upon the part of its own members. The industrial union would not only do that, but so far as its power lay, upon all society, by refusing in any way to handle an unfair product. See how the workers will their officials for publishing a boycott; you cannot compel the industrialist to handle the boycotted product. "All the palmist says in his haste, 'All the workers say we will declare precipitately. 'All craft unionists are fools.' when as in the case of the printers' strike for an eight-hour day they gave the bosses six months' notice ahead. Why strike no more? Give no notice, work eight hours and quit. In case of a lockout as a result of such tactics you are better off than the blunderers that give six months' notice then strike; you have caught the boss unprepared, your chances of winning are greatly increased. But if unable to hold out, go back, try other tactics, such as the passive strike, sabotage, and so forth. And when your advance comes, keep it. No reverse is final, but only teaches the workers where and how they are weak and how to strengthen that weakness for a renewed conflict.

But perhaps readers will say, "The reason they don't is because the workers, except a small minority, have neither the knowledge nor the will to organize to do so." The work of the industrialist is to spread knowledge of working class economics among the workers, and to arouse their will to action to correctly organize themselves.

Still the reader may say: Until you have relieved the problem of the unemployed, the greatest menace to organized labor remains: how can you do that? Let us for a moment turn to the Communist Manifesto, to the words of Part One: "The essential condition for the existence and away of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital: the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition by their involuntary combination due to association."

The evils of competition in the labor market are so great, its disasters so severe, and its humiliation, discouragement and degradation to the workers, that any practical measures looking to labor's emancipation must tend to eliminate this competition between the laborers. Here is the crux of the situation: Remove the competition between the laborers and the appropriation by the capitalist of surplus value ceases, and with its cessation ceases the

collapse of capitalism. Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers; the condition for capital is the same wage labor, while the capitalist's continued existence and rule is upon the formation and increase of capital; therefore, when simmered down to the last analysis, the capitalist regime depends upon competition between the laborers. Here is the key to the capitalist's fight against organized labor. To prevent, to misdirect, to coerce labor in its efforts toward organization, the capitalist class is never scrupulous of the means it uses. But in order to gain their ends—the formation and increase of capital and the appropriation of surplus value—the capitalist must, in increasingly large and more compact bodies, associate labor in factories, mines, agriculture and transportation. From this arises the ever-widening conflict with labor; the laborers desiring more pay, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Through their very association the laborers are taught that, being exploited in common, they have a common interest and must together combat the capitalist regime in their interest.

This process is furthered constantly by the concentration of capitalist production, by the perfecting of the machine, thus more and more doing away with skill, thus breaking up craft distinctions. The essential product of this industrial process is the proletariat without property, without home, without manners or respect for capitalist property institutions. But he has a world to win. He determines the final form of the organization of labor.

But what has this to do with the relieving of conditions among the laborers? Here it tells us the origin of that force necessary to accomplish that purpose—the industrial organization of labor. Now, the proletariat besides organizing into the best possible fighting mass, thus compelling him to act collectively to carry out his natural instinct for shorter hours, more wages and better working conditions. Say there are twenty million wage workers in a country, sixteen million are working, four million are idle, the work hours are ten. The four million unemployed are used to upset the wage scale, to increase the hours of labor and speed up all labor by breaking down the combination of charge and putting the unemployed in their place. Moreover, experience proves that labor unions do not grow in strength or power of resistance during a period of unemployment, but that the period of unemployment, but the ten to eight, what happens? The four million are put to work, competition is temporarily relieved, wages go up and general conditions of the laborers are bettered. But the boss has the scale the capitalists in order to compete and make their profits are forced to adopt better means of production by securing better and more speedy machinery and for the unemployed workers to compete for work. A surplus of labor is again thrown on the labor market. Again reduce hours, say to seven, if necessary to six; in fact, until no surplus remains upon the labor market. Now reduce the hours, say to six, and wholly offset by making a corresponding increase in the prices of commodities, as Marx shows in "Value, Price and Profit." The workers are benefited by an increase in the hours of labor and more and more of the product of their labor by a constantly increased wage scale.

Now we know this can be done only if the laborers understand their position in capitalist production and organize accordingly. The industrial organization of workers will, according to their power, secure a shorter work day, more wages and an increase in the hours of labor. They shorten their hours to relieve competition by compelling the capitalists to set more laborers to work to accomplish the work in hand. As they lessen competition, the power of the union to strain the laborers into the union is increased. With the lessened competition and increased power and numbers of the union, can and will come an increased wage scale and better working conditions. Here the industrial organization of workers take and hold one time, shorter hours, at another time, more wages and better working conditions, and in all strengthened organization to resist the encroachment of the capitalist class and to gain their strength, thus constantly building up the power of the working class to take and hold the instruments of production for the workers.

Here lies the solution of the world's riddle of class rule and exploitation. As the workers through their economic organization build up their power as a class they more and more force industry to their advantage. As the workers' competition becomes sharper between competing factors; more of the petty capitalists are driven to the wall or absorbed in larger concerns. The trust of Nor can the increased wage scale, the scope of action becoming international. Its very bulwark—the small employing and proprietorial class—by the operation of this trust of trusts, the upper mill estate, the industrial trust, the workers, the nether mill estate, are ground out into wage laborers, thus increasing the numerical strength of the working class, while leaving the plutocracy with their feeble numbers to face their own bankruptcy and the powerfully organized working class. They can submit gracefully if they will, but if not complete and final bankruptcy awaits them by reason of doing away with competition between the laborers and the absorption by the workers of the surplus value now received by the capitalist, through an ever increasing wage scale. Stocks and bonds become valueless, universal panic ensues, the capitalists can no longer conduct the productive forces to feed, clothe, house and give comfort to society. There remains then but one alternative: the force the workers to combine to build up to resist capitalist encroachment and to secure shorter hours, better working conditions and an ever-increasing portion of their product. This industrial organization of working class is the only way to gain their power to take and conduct the industries. This is its mission. It seizes the industries for the workers and puts an end to bankrupt capitalism, and thoroughly demoralizes and degrades the capitalist base. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates surplus value. While the workers, therefore, produce, above all are its own grave diggers. All fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

BULLETIN SUSTAINING FUND.

As announced editorially in the last issue, a "Bulletin Sustaining League" is being formed throughout the country, composed of local unions and individuals who will pledge themselves to pay a definite sum of money each month to be used to maintain the Industrial Union Bulletin as a weekly. The response to this proposition has been prompt and satisfactory as far as some locals are concerned. BUT OTHERS HAVE IGNORED IT ENTIRELY. THE BUREAU OF SUSTAINING THE BULLETIN MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO REST UPON THE SHOULDERS OF A FEW, NO MATTER HOW WILLING.

As pointed out in our communication of January 25, the matter of sustaining the Bulletin and making up the monthly deficit in its publication can be easily accomplished, provided EACH LOCAL OF THE I. W. W. WILL PLEDGE AT LEAST ONE DOLLAR PER MONTH FOR THE PURPOSE, and the few who work or get busy with collection lists for the "Bulletin Fund" among their members and sympathizers. This must be done AT ONCE IF WE ARE TO GUARANTEE THE CONTINUED PUBLICATION OF THE BULLETIN.

We have plenty of the very best material for a propaganda paper, and those who have charge of the Bulletin must see that the paper is kept up to the standard. BUT THE BUREAU MUST GET BUSY AT ONCE WITH THE FINANCIAL END, if we are to make any definite plans regarding the paper for the future.

SEND IN YOUR PLEDGE AND DONATION AT ONCE. The following contributions to the "Bulletin Sustaining Fund" have been received to date:

A Friend	1.00
B. Beekman	1.00
F. K. Higgins, on list: A. Leach, \$1.00; P. Koettgen, \$1.00; W. Halbach, \$1.00; O. Koettgen, \$1.00; P. Golditz, \$1.00; E. Koettgen, \$1.00; R. Frankenhof, \$1.00; R. Platt, \$1.00; Ang. Koehn, \$1.00; F. R. Noll, \$1.00; M. Durkin, \$1.00; O. Eckhardt, \$1.00	8.00
O. Brostrom, on list: L. E. Freeman, \$1.00; O. Brostrom, \$1.00; Geo. Hoff, \$1.00; P. Johnson, \$1.00; O. Brostrom, \$1.00; Harry Sweet, \$1.00	5.00
Peto Brown, on list: J. Bernard, \$2.00; P. Brown, \$2.00; D. Boyd, \$1.00; V. Lemons, \$1.00; J. Decous, \$1.00; H. May, \$1.00; H. Gray, \$1.00; F. R. Noll, \$1.00; W. McGarvey, \$1.00; C. Hamilton, \$1.00; C. Tobin, \$1.00; J. Landstrom, \$1.00; D. Haddleton, \$1.00; J. Fraser, \$1.00	9.20
W. E. Jackson, on list: H. H. H. \$1.00; A. Brodsky, \$1.00; E. Moonella, \$1.00; Walton, \$1.00; collection at meeting Jan. 30, \$2.70	7.20
Jan. 16, on monthly pledge, \$1.00; on list: B. H. H. \$1.00; Local 86, \$2.00; C. F. Huber, \$1.00; P. H. Alexander, \$1.00	3.00
Local 133, Seattle, donation for February	4.00
C. H. Axelson, on list: L. Hoffman, \$1.00; J. F. Frost, \$1.00; G. Nickerson, \$1.00; P. Anderson, \$1.00; E. Tingberg, \$1.00; C. H. Fingberg, \$1.00	2.60
C. H. Axelson, on monthly pledge, \$1.00; on list: L. Hoffman, \$1.00; J. F. Frost, \$1.00; G. Nickerson, \$1.00; P. Anderson, \$1.00; E. Tingberg, \$1.00; C. H. Fingberg, \$1.00	1.00
L. A. Ferrin, on monthly pledge, \$1.00; on list: L. Hoffman, \$1.00; J. F. Frost, \$1.00; G. Nickerson, \$1.00; P. Anderson, \$1.00; E. Tingberg, \$1.00; C. H. Fingberg, \$1.00	1.00
Local 85, Br. 1, on monthly pledge, \$1.00; on list: L. Hoffman, \$1.00; J. F. Frost, \$1.00; G. Nickerson, \$1.00; P. Anderson, \$1.00; E. Tingberg, \$1.00; C. H. Fingberg, \$1.00	1.00
Local 385, donation for February	2.00
F. W. Holswood, on list: H. J. Mulholland, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; A. Gamble, \$1.00; J. McCarty, \$1.00; A. Springer, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Conley, \$1.00; W. A. Hall, \$1.00; E. Holswood, \$1.00; Max Schmidt, \$1.00; J. C. Miller, \$1.00; Ed. Bond, \$1.00; A. J. Chapman, \$1.00; P. Elson, \$1.00; Joe Dandy, \$1.00; M. Bazzell, \$1.00; Wm. Loo, \$1.00; W. Leslie, \$1.00; C. Lee, \$1.00; M. Kamp, \$1.00; Ed. Anderson, \$1.00; J. Wile, \$1.00; M. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Dickman, \$1.00; C. Johnson, \$1.00	14.25
John Wiegand, on list: H. J. Mulholland, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; A. Gamble, \$1.00; J. McCarty, \$1.00; A. Springer, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Conley, \$1.00; W. A. Hall, \$1.00; E. Holswood, \$1.00; Max Schmidt, \$1.00; J. C. Miller, \$1.00; Ed. Bond, \$1.00; A. J. Chapman, \$1.00; P. Elson, \$1.00; Joe Dandy, \$1.00; M. Bazzell, \$1.00; Wm. Loo, \$1.00; W. Leslie, \$1.00; C. Lee, \$1.00; M. Kamp, \$1.00; Ed. Anderson, \$1.00; J. Wile, \$1.00; M. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Dickman, \$1.00; C. Johnson, \$1.00	5.00
Local 178, Seattle, collected	8.00
Local 92, Portland, on monthly pledge	2.00
E. Holswood, on list: H. J. Mulholland, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; A. Gamble, \$1.00; J. McCarty, \$1.00; A. Springer, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Conley, \$1.00; W. A. Hall, \$1.00; E. Holswood, \$1.00; Max Schmidt, \$1.00; J. C. Miller, \$1.00; Ed. Bond, \$1.00; A. J. Chapman, \$1.00; P. Elson, \$1.00; Joe Dandy, \$1.00; M. Bazzell, \$1.00; Wm. Loo, \$1.00; W. Leslie, \$1.00; C. Lee, \$1.00; M. Kamp, \$1.00; Ed. Anderson, \$1.00; J. Wile, \$1.00; M. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Dickman, \$1.00; C. Johnson, \$1.00	2.4
Local 273, Phoenix, collected	7.00
Local 141, Portland	2.00
Local 382, Seattle, assessment to Bulletin Fund, \$2.50; collected: G. Dupont, \$1.00; P. Dickman, \$1.00; C. Johnson, \$1.00; M. Bazzell, \$1.00; Wm. Loo, \$1.00; W. Leslie, \$1.00; C. Lee, \$1.00; M. Kamp, \$1.00; Ed. Anderson, \$1.00; J. Wile, \$1.00; M. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Dickman, \$1.00; C. Johnson, \$1.00	14.25
P. Cassidy, \$1.00	1.00
Local 273, Globe	1.00
Local 432, Seattle, collected	7.25
T. J. Cole, on monthly pledge	2.50
Local 152, Seattle, on monthly pledge	2.50
Local 425, Philadelphia	2.00
Paul Lundgard, on list: H. J. Mulholland, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; A. Gamble, \$1.00; J. McCarty, \$1.00; A. Springer, \$1.00; H. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Conley, \$1.00; W. A. Hall, \$1.00; E. Holswood, \$1.00; Max Schmidt, \$1.00; J. C. Miller, \$1.00; Ed. Bond, \$1.00; A. J. Chapman, \$1.00; P. Elson, \$1.00; Joe Dandy, \$1.00; M. Bazzell, \$1.00; Wm. Loo, \$1.00; W. Leslie, \$1.00; C. Lee, \$1.00; M. Kamp, \$1.00; Ed. Anderson, \$1.00; J. Wile, \$1.00; M. Holswood, \$1.00; P. Dickman, \$1.00; C. Johnson, \$1.00	8.50
Local 23, Cleveland	3.00
Local 418, Redlands	3.00
Local 215, Pittsburg	5.00
Local 121, Kallapall, on monthly pledge	5.00
H. Tranter, on list: J. Deltach, \$1.00; J. Ebert, \$1.00; C. Fischer, \$1.00; A. McPherson, \$1.00; R. Fischer, \$1.00; P. Quinn, \$1.00; J. Petershoff, \$1.00; Geo. Mullet, \$1.00; E. Libman, \$1.00; H. Engert, \$1.00	4.25
Engene Seethe	1.00
Local 44, Victoria	1.00
Local 42, Seattle, on monthly pledge	2.10
Local 85, Br. 2, on pledge	3.00
Total	\$115.84

A Study Course in Socialism

The International Socialist Review starts with its November number a Study Course in Socialism, prepared by Joe E. Cohen, easy enough for a workman to enjoy as he goes along; thorough enough to give him an insight into capitalist society that will make doubly effective his efforts as a fighter for the Revolution. The Review including the Study Course is a dollar a year; single copies 10c. Book Bulletin Free. Address: Stephen M. Howe & Company, 1232 East Chicago St., Chicago.

A MOMENTOUS QUESTION.

Shall the I. W. W. as Such Assume Responsibility for the Organized Unemployed?

By Ben Allie.

Certainly the pressing problem of the unemployed is nothing new under the sun. The immediate cause, that is, shifting herds of workless workers is old, in fact ancient and historic; like Balshazzar's ghost it is the hideously glaring monster, ever present, casting a black pall of terror over the festive board of capitalist society. Quite in order with all else in the general process of things, it is subject to a certain perceptible fluctuation in quantity or volume, but presents the uniqueness of variety in that it ever possesses a monotonous, dreaded sameness of kind in constant intensifying misery for the world's toiling millions. In fact, the fluctuation of the monster goes a fearful steadily growing magnitude, with the insatiable maw of the octopus constantly reaching farther and farther outwards, bringing to its death-dealing embrace ever increasing herds of the steadily more becomen misfortunate workers.

Small wonder that it should be readily recognized as a legitimate component of those social processes directly responsible for the being of the world's labor movement.

Obviously one of the significant marks, indicative of the true progress of the labor movement is that movement's ever-increasing interest, concern and calculation of the general trend and tendencies of that ever growing in vastness, utterly helpless, ruthlessly enforced, mass of workless unfortunate.

That the movement of Industrialism, claiming for itself the most advanced expression of the labor movement, should be prone to overlook and ignore one of the prime causes of its being—that ever present, constantly growing army of permanently unemployed, held in check by the increasing number of seemingly excellent little or no interest in the ranks of Industrialism—a surety would be most remarkable. That at any time or under any conceivable circumstances more emphatically under circumstances as now prevailing, when so apparently its own organization is directly so largely involved; with this appalling monoco ruthlessly forcing directly such inroads of destruction, discouragement, disgust into the very heart and life centers of its own membership—that in this matter, so fraught with consequences so serious, the I. W. W. should exhibit that seeming indifference, which could only be indicative of ignorance and cowardice, is indeed unthinkable.

To the clear thinking and not overly impulsive there cannot occur any justification for assuming either ignorance or indifference in I. W. W. circles relative to this situation. On the contrary, if there exists a correct understanding relative to the essence of that involved in the general posture of the I. W. W., in that, in face of the most adverse circumstances IT DETERS FROM TAKING ACTION, THE WORKERS AS SUCH, the difficulties are constantly added to, enhanced and aggravated as a result of that special process inherent in capitalist industry, namely, a constant ruthless sloughing of the number of the unemployed, the workers, debarred them from all opportunity for even a precarious economic existence, hurling them pell mell into the army of permanently unemployed. Now, the exact measure of any adaptation to that situation, the more is of significance only because of forcing the battle right at the source of wealth production, where the workers as such come into immediate contact with the exploiters and the exploiting processes, and at the same time have their entire being, there, contesting the exploiters' right and power to retain possession of the results of the workers' labor fundamentally, for at bottom, the workers are determined to eventual retention of the full measure of the results of their toil.

If in essence that is a correct outlining of I. W. W. perspective and basis of working process, obviously the masses ever be actuated with a deep-rooted sympathy for, and a clear understanding relative to so constant a menace to its own existence as the ever growing army of permanently unemployed. And if the masses of the organization are well defined in revolutionary inspiration and interest, presents boldly the markings of proletarian conscious endeavor towards the one and only solution of the masses' predicament, the I. W. W. must be actuated with a deep-rooted sympathy for, and a clear understanding relative to so constant a menace to its own existence as the ever growing army of permanently unemployed. And if the masses of the organization are well defined in revolutionary inspiration and interest, presents boldly the markings of proletarian conscious endeavor towards the one and only solution of the masses' predicament, the I. W. 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to the real significance of the I. W. U.—in fact unconditionally, merely appealing to its misery in order to get it to accept the generous offering of membership, only promising to subsequently make good financially and otherwise. Oh, yes, membership books, with out-of-work stamps and other insignia of affliction are to be issued for the asking, thus practically conferring all the rights, privileges, prerogatives and prestige, while the very nature of entire lack of any sort of economic and social responsibility attached to the strenuous life of the organization. In plain words, to all intents and purposes, regardless of marked limitations of self-protective power—according to this scheme the I. W. U. is to deliberately assume direct and full responsibility for a positively uncertain, unreliable, constantly shifting, great mass of unfortunate poverty, beggary and misery.

And then with astounding seeming innocence is proposed, presumably as a profound quack, "What has the employed or the I. W. U. to lose by this venture?" Admittedly the coupling is most gracious. Let us hope at least that it does honor to the cause. Let us hope, too, that the unemployed are not so stupid as to be misled by the I. W. U. to lose by this venture? Admittedly the coupling is most gracious. Let us hope at least that it does honor to the cause. Let us hope, too, that the unemployed are not so stupid as to be misled by the I. W. U. to lose by this venture?

If for no more cogent reasons, at least as a matter of good tactics, we must observe prudence, tolerance and forbearance with ourselves or with our fellows. But in all good faith the circumstance would seem to warrant the conclusion that those sponsors for such a proposition would have done more visible justice to their own intelligence and good intent had they been more explicit in making clear just what the I. W. U. could gain by such project; had they been a little more explanatory relative to the how, or nature of work processes, and in what special form it is to be expressed that promises gain; had they given more light in reference to these important matters, it might have been conducive to greater clearness and less confusion in our dull minds.

Admittedly by such a project there might have been enhanced the opportunities for more or less noisy cheap parade, exhibitions of petty vanities, small spongings, displaying certain morbid desires for halcyon emotionalism and gross sensationalism. But it does not as yet appear clear just how the cause of the proletariat is to be in any manner truly conserved by such methods. Quite true, the movement of industrialism is directed with that fellow feeling and heart stirring impulse all sufficient to clasp to its succoring protecting bosom all of suffering humanity. But in these times of brutal class warfare the I. W. U. happily is also possessed of the high sense of the actual, gross and practical, which guards against all utopian, visionary, suicidal attempts at the impossible.

As a well defined, positive, sagacious, far-seeing, fighting force the I. W. U. clearly understands that whether it will or no it must, though with great sorrow, at all times with diplomatic coolness, view millions of its own class fellows go down, perishing miserably, ruthlessly slaughtered in capitalist's merciless industrial machine. Clearly understanding that in the unavoidable eventualities of the great class war, while at times its heart may be stirred with deepest indignation, yet with all the grimmer determination it must resolutely press onward, even over the crushed and dying bodies, dead and rotting corpses of its own fellows.

Regretful though it may be to acknowledge, the facts of this cruel class war will not be denied. Frequently, all too frequently, with cautious care, right hand precision, deliberation and thoroughness, the army of the proletariat aligns itself expressly to crush its own class kind, as the only alternative of coming directly to the capitalist class enemy. That manner of stating the case may sound cold blooded, shocking and dreadful to the womanish; but even at the risk of further annoying those gentle souls it must be made clear that in times of war, comrad, strong measures are required for the protection of even their precious selves.

While in all fairness to the common cause we are bound to hold ourselves open and susceptible to reason and logic, at the same time we shall maintain, when at any time a proposition like unto the one under criticism obtains right of way for any length of time for serious consideration within the jurisdiction of the I. W. U., we may know by that sign that our household is sadly in need of rearranging. And with not the slightest intention of reflecting on the honesty or good intentions of those standing sponsor for the idea, we feel in duty bound to vote the whole scheme impractical, decidedly out of order, and but little more than a childish dream.

To the question, "Shall the I. W. U. as such assume responsibility for the organized unemployed," our answer is a most emphatic No.

ATTENTION COAL MINERS OF THE ANTHRACITE DISTRICT AND ALL OTHERS.

Joe J. Ettor, G. E. B. member of the I. W. U., is now stationed in this district, and all miners or other workers who desire his services or wish any information about the I. W. U., should communicate with him at 212 Spruce St., Scranton, Pa.

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON.
Local Union No. 414, Industrial Workers of the World, meets every Sunday evening at 8 p. m. at I. W. U. Hall, 514 Washington St. All workmen are cordially invited to attend these meetings.

PORTLAND, OREGON, ATTENTION!
The headquarters of Local 91 and Building Constructors' Industrial Union, Local 11 of the I. W. U., are now located at 409 Couch St. Free reading rooms open from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. All workmen cordially invited. Members, take notice.

INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL UNITY.

(From "The Harp," Organ of the Irish Socialist Federation.)

'At meetings throughout this country one frequently hears speakers laboring to arouse the workers to their duty, exclaiming:

"You unite industrially; why, then, do you divide politically? You unite against the bosses in strikes and lock-outs, and then you foolishly divide when you go to the ballot box. Why not unite at the ballot box as you unite in the workshop? Why not show the same unity on the political battlefield?"

At first blush this looks to be an exceedingly apt and forcible form of appeal to our fellow workers, but when examined more attentively it will be seen that in view of the facts of industrial warfare this appeal is based upon aagrant misstatement of facts. The real truth is that the workers do not unite industrially, but on the contrary are most hopelessly divided on the industrial field, and the direct result of their division and confusion on the industrial field. It would be easy to prove that even our most loyal trade unionists habitually play the game of the capitalist class on the industrial field as surely as the Republican and Democratic workers do on the political field. Let us examine the situation on the industrial field and see if it justifies the claim that economically the workers are united, or if it justifies the contention we make that the division of the workers on the political field is but the reflex of the confused ideas derived from the practice of the workers in strikes and lock-outs.

Quite recently we had a great strike of the workers employed on the subway and elevated systems of street car service in New York. The men showed a splendid front against the power of the mammoth capitalist company headed by August Belmont, against which they were arrayed. Conductors, motor-men, ticket choppers, platform men, repairers, permanent way men, ticket sellers—all went out together and for a time paralyzed the entire traffic on their respective systems. The company, on the other hand, had the usual recourse to Jim Farley and his scabs and sought to man the trains with those professional traitors to their class. The number of scabs was large, but small in proportion to the men on strike, yet the strike was broken. It was not the scabs, however, who turned the scale against the strikers in favor of the men. That service to capital was performed by good union men with union cards in their pockets. These men were the engineers in the power houses which supplied the electric power to run the cars, and without whom all the scabs combined could not have run a single car. A scab is a vile creature, but what shall we say of the men who helped to break a strike? They were traitors to the law, for a scab is a criminal before the law. The law says that an accessory before the fact is equally guilty of a crime with the actual criminal. What, then, are the trade unionists who supplied the power to the scabs to help them to break a strike? They were accessories being compelled by their false system of organization to betray their struggling brothers. Was this unity on the industrial field? And is it any wonder that the men on strike, who were each upon their fellow workers in a labor struggle should also scab it upon their class in a political struggle? It is not rather common sense to expect that the recognition of the necessity for concerted action on the industrial field against the capitalist enemy in the industrial battle-ground must preclude the realization of the wisdom of common action as a class on the political battlefield?

The scabs had come to consider their own interests as all right, to continue working for a capitalist against whom their shopmates of a different craft are on strike are not likely to see any harm in continuing to vote for a capitalist mine at the election, even when he is opposed by a candidate of a Socialist and Labor organization. Political scabbery is born of industrial scabbery; it is its legitimate offspring.

Instances of this industrial disunion could be cited indefinitely. The longshoremen of the port of New York went out on strike. They at first succeeded in tying up the ships of the Shipping Trust, great as its wealth is, and in demonstrating the real power of labor when unmanaged by contractors and capitalists. The Shipping Trust was taken by surprise, but quickly recovered, and as usual imported scabs from all over the country. Then was seen what the unity of the working class on the industrial field amounts to under present conditions. As scab longshoremen unloaded the ship, union longshoremen with union buttons in their hats received the goods from their hands, loaded them into their teams, and drove them away. As scab longshoremen loaded a ship union men coaled it, and when the cargo was safely on board union marine engineers set up steam, and union seamen and firemen took it out of the dock on its voyage to its destination. Can men who are trained and taught to believe that such a course of conduct is right and proper be expected to realize the oneness of the interests of the working class as a whole against the capitalist as a whole, and vote and act accordingly?

In short, can their field of vision be so extensive that it can see the brotherhood of all men, and yet so restricted that it can see no harm in a brother laborer being beaten to death by capital? Now, as an equally valuable object lesson in American unionism, an object lesson in how not to do it, let us picture a typical state of affairs in the machine industry. The moulder's contract with the boss expires, and they go out on strike. In a machine shop the moulder occupies a position intermediate between the pattern-maker and the machinist, or, as they are called, the "cat" and the "dog." When the moulder goes out the boss, who has had all his plans laid for months beforehand, brings in a staff of scabs and installs them in the place of the striking workers. Then the employer begins to work. The moulder makes his pattern and hands them over to the scab moulder; the scab moulder cuts his moulds and when they are done the m-

achinist takes them from him, and promptly finishes the job. Then, having finished their day's work, they go to their union meetings and vote donations of a few hundred dollars to help the strikers to defeat the boss, after they had worked all day to help the boss to defeat the strikers. Thus they exemplify the solidarity of labor. When the moulders are beaten the machinists and the blacksmiths, and the electricians, and the engineers, and all the rest, take their turn of going up against the boss in separate bodies to be licked. As each is taking its medicine its fellows of other crafts in the same shop sympathize with it in the name of the solidarity of labor, and continue to work in the service of the capitalist, against whom the strike is directed, in the name of the sacred contract of the craft union.

When the coal miners of Pennsylvania had their famous strike in 1902 the railroad brotherhoods hauled in scabs to take their places, and when the scabs had mined coal the same railroad men hauled out this scab-mined coal.

Need we go on to prove our point that industrial division and discord is the order of the day amongst the workers, and that this division and confusion on the economic field cannot fail to perpetuate itself upon the political field? Those orators who preach the workers with being divided on the political field, although united on the industrial, are simply mis-stating facts. The workers are divided on both, and as political parties are the reflex of economic conditions, it follows that industrial unity once established will create the political unity of the working class. We feel that we cannot too strongly insist upon this point: that the division of the workers on the industrial field is born of industrial weakness. It is an axiom enforced by all the experience of the ages that the rule of the strong will rule politically, and therefore they who are divided and weakly organized industrially will remain impotent politically. The failure of Mr. Gompers to unite politically the force of the American Federation of Labor was the inevitable outcome of his own policy of division on the industrial battle-ground; he reversed the natural process by trying to unite men on class lines whilst he opposed every effort, as in the case of the brewers, to use the industrial union line. The natural lines of thought and action lead from the direct to the indirect, from the simple to the complex, from the immediate to the ultimate.

Mr. Gompers ignored this natural line of development, and the inevitable consequence was that the American Federation of Labor was left a political party, with separate craft interests of the workers, and then expected them to heed his call to unity on the less direct and immediate battle-ground of politics. He failed, as even the Socialists failed, for the remainder of the world is equally blind to the natural law of our evolution into class consciousness. That natural law leads us as individuals to unite in our craft, as crafts to unite in our industry, as industries in our class, and the finished line of the evolution is the class line. The appearance of our class upon the political battle-ground with all the economic power behind it to enforce its mandates. Before that day dawns our political parties, of the striking order, the propaganda agency, the John the Baptists of the New Redemption, but when that day dawns our political party will be armed with all the might of our class; will be revolutionary in fact as well as in thought.

AGITATE FOR A SHORTER WORK DAY.

Editor Industrial Union Bulletin: The scab has come to consider my frequent and long letters as a means for wasting your time. If so my excuse is that I consider the subjects on which I have written to be of importance. Perhaps it is presumption on my part to tell you that I am taking such active part in the real work of agitation and organization, anything new. Yet it is possible that I may see some things more clearly just because I am in the position of an interested observer.

What I wish to suggest at this time is that the I. W. U. take up for special propaganda the evil of enforced idleness and the only remedy for this evil is the shorter work day. It is shorter work day. My reasons for believing such a move advisable are:

(1) That the demand for an eight-hour day was almost universal some twenty years ago and caused the industrial field amounts to under present conditions. As scab longshoremen unloaded the ship, union longshoremen with union buttons in their hats received the goods from their hands, loaded them into their teams, and drove them away.

(2) A real remedy for the length of the workday would be directly in line with our final aim, and would therefore be an actual progressive step for the labor movement.

(3) Our final aim—to take and hold the means of production and distribution—is hardly within the average workman's mental range of vision. He is in sympathy with our movement, but he hates to part with his hard-earned dollars for what he regards as a pipe-dream. But if we say to him: "Come, join us in a struggle for a shorter work day; when we have won that you may have more confidence in our ability to win the rest," then he will be more ready to give us his active support. And there will be no deception in this, for when our organization has become the dominant factor in the labor movement, we will not only be able to shorten the work day, but I am certain that we will be forced to do so.

(4) The I. W. U. has so many enemies and so much opposition that it must either grow fast or die quick. It is not permitted to choose a "cycle of catapaults," but to grow fast it must keep up an active and constant agitation, and yet never allow that agitation to become monotonous. Propaganda meetings are more successful when they have a definite object, one that has not been tried before. The shorter work day would be beneficial to us wage slaves, then it is certainly up to the I. W. U. to see that we get it. The A.

F. of L. is striving for eight-hour contracts and the political socialists strive for eight-hour laws, but neither seems to care much about the length of the work day.

(5) The most important work we have to do is to teach the working class to act as one united body—not only in one shop or in one locality, but throughout the civilized world—and we should teach that both by words and deeds. For this reason we should choose such subjects for special agitation as will command at least national and, when possible, international interest. Hard times are international and the need for a shorter work day is an international need. The fact that we were represented at the International Socialist Congress should assure us of co-operation in such a matter from every Socialist organization in the world. We have a chance to teach a lesson in proletarian solidarity.

I want it to be distinctly understood that I do not wish this matter to interfere with the agitation in behalf of Peace and Smith. I know the necessity of doing all we can for these two men. Not that picketing nor the existence of the I. W. U. depends on court decisions—but we must return loyalty for loyalty in full measure or brand ourselves as cowards and ingrates. And I am sure we have plenty of time for the matter I have suggested. But I take it for granted that time is needed for preparation in order to make such agitation effective and that it will be the most effective the sooner it is started.

Yours for Industrial Democracy,
B. E. NILSSON.

NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS.

All members and sympathizers of the I. W. U. in New York City and vicinity should take notice that local headquarters have just been established by the New York District Council at 250 W. 125th St., room 17.

H. TRAUBIG, Secretary.
741 E. 5th St., New York.

THE STORY OF THE GLOBE LOOK-OUT.

(Continued From First Page.)

In addition to the documents procured from Mr. Hegarty by the two of his employees mentioned, another, stating the same terms, was handed in by an employee of the Miami Copper Company, a member of the union who completely ignored the document as his ignoble worship of the God Job. But such trifling irregularities and contempt for the organization did not bring upon his head the unanimous condemnation it deserved. Instead, a motion was made to uphold the document as official and thereby accepting the company's terms. Motions, amendments, amendments to amendments, substitute motions, etc., were made, all with a view of throwing out the documents, but without avail. The original motion was put to a vote and carried, 296 to 205. The show of hands was a revelation; it showed clearly by nationality the conception each had of an economic organization. In the affirmative went the hands of the German element almost unanimously. The majority of the rest of the English-speaking membership also affirmed. In the negative up rose as one man the Italians and Slavonians and those of the English-speaking element known as the radicals. The vote was almost decisive; the union had lost through the spinelessness of its membership. The vote firmly established the fact that the majority was ready and willing to throw principle to the devil. It was a humiliating acknowledgment of defeat and competent organizer. As shown by the books, the membership jumped from less than 1,000 to 1,300 in his four months of office.

The motion was made to declare the office of walking delegate vacant. The chair refused to entertain the motion until the by-laws of the union had been complied with. This necessitated that charges against the delegate must be made and sustained, and at least three weeks would be necessary to comply with the constitution. Consternation reigned in the camp of the anxious jobites. Amid great confusion the meeting adjourned until after dinner.

On reconvening, the situation was critical, the so-called conservatives desperate. Executive Board Member George Glavin came to the rescue. He stated that he surely had the speedy solution to the problem, and each of the factions, he would guarantee, would be equally satisfied with the arrangement he proposed. He proposed that the delegates, however, that the assembly have full confidence in him and his proposed measure, and wanted that assurance by a show of hands that his subsequent motion would be carried. The vote was satisfactory and he moved the following motion: "That this union sustain Albert Wills, the special delegate, in his actions and conduct up to date." The motion carried almost unanimously. Glavin then handed in the resignation of Wills and moved that a vote of thanks be accorded him for diligent performance of his duties. This motion also carried almost unanimously. Next a motion was made to accept his resignation, which carried without much opposition. The meeting then adjourned.

The military of the victors (!) was so much tempted by the hot shots repeatedly thrown into their ranks by those who prized principle higher than jobs. The unmanly position they had held throughout had not failed to come home to all but the least susceptible.

The mines have again started to work, but to the observer it is not how the strike is conducted that from now on will be followed by the companies. Already some of those that were prominent in their attitude of opposition to the emancipation of the union, have been fired. The rest will be sent to the time and with as much dispatch as half decay will permit.

It is useless to comment further. The wedding out of the "undesirables" in camp can now take place systematically, and the "scabs, scabs, and scabs" will be left to graciously accept the conditions their masters find it profitable that they shall stand under.

Yours faithfully,
PAUL LINDGREN.

THE NEW PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution:

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Local Union No. 123 of the Industrial Workers of the World of Spokane, Wash., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock at the Union Hall, No. 101 Washington St., Spokane, Wash. All workmen are cordially invited to attend these meetings.

JAMES J. STARK,
Financial Secretary No. 123,
Spokane, Wash.